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ABSTRACT

This paper describes how four institutions of higher education, local businesses, and community leaders cooperated to work for change in University Heights (Newark, New Jersey). Initial sections describe the community and the economic and social changes it has seen in recent decades. These sections also review how the four institutions established a consortium, the Council for Higher Education in Newark (CHEN), to work for community development. Member institutions are Essex County College, New Jersey Institute of Technology, Rutgers-Newark,and the University of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey. Other sections describe community stakeholders, persuasion of people outside the area to invest in development, early local neighborhood opposition, and work with city and state officials. One section describes the development program itself, three community-based corporations formed to oversee and ensure the plan's implementation, and increased public and private investment. A list of specific successful projects includes housing developments, a supermarket, a movie theater, and a mall. Direct contributions of the institutions are identified including campus construction projects and provision of increased employment opportunities. The planned development of a science park in the area is noted. (JB)

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UNIVERSITY IMPACT ON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

George Hampton and David Higham

Introduction

Today colleges can, do, and should play a major role in positively impacting their local county or city, and especially the immediate neighborhood.

In the past the contributions of colleges to their home cities or regions followed closely to that of their traditional services. These activities include programs of advanced instruction which help to insure that the area economies have sufficient numbers of trained professionals. In addition, research initiatives undertaken on campuses are applied to local or regional needs, and collegiate public service programs are developed to address specific community concerns and to help promote dialogue between the campus and the community. All of these activities form essential missions of institutions of higher learning, and are perceived by the public accordingly.

Increasingly, however, colleges are becoming involved in community development initiatives that have not been traditionally considered within their realm. Urban universities, especially, are recognizing that they must directly intervene to stem the decline of the neighborhoods that surround them. Through increasing their economic investment, and by promoting positive images of the community, urban universities can have a catalytic effect on investment patterns and neighborhood development. Elementary and high school education, neighborhood housing, recreation and employment opportunities are issues where universities can have a positive impact upon their communities.

Colleges that work closely with their communities in these and other areas do so at some peril. Short-range efforts or apparent inconsistences in commitment by the college will do more harm than good for town/gown relations. Colleges should expect that potential areas of conflict between the campus and the community will increase with the level of involvement. New town/gown disagreements will arise as others are resolved. Colleges must recognize that residents have the right to question their role in the neighborhood's development.

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However, a university and other community institutions may be the most valuable asset within the neighborhood and, with proper coordination, these institutions can use their resources to effect positive change. Two very important strategies are: (1) pooling collective university resources for community betterment; and (2) calling upon other institutions to use their resources as well. No one in an urban environment wants to feel alone when they invest their time and resources for urban development; but there is safety and confidence in numbers.

Four universities can do more than one, and all can do better if they are joined by businesses, government and residents willing to work collectively for change in a geographically defined neighborhood. These principals are illustrated by the impact that four institutions of higher education are having on the University Heights neighborhood in Newark, New Jersey.

University Heights: A Promising Urban Neighborhood

Less than ten years ago the Central Ward in Newark offered little reason for hope. The New York Times described the area as an "urban wilderness of vacant and dilapidated buildings that were the targets for vandals and refuge for drug addicts." Decades of disinvestment and abandonment had left the area physically scarred, and its residents angry and distrustful. In a span of only twenty years, more than one-half of the neighborhood's population had moved out. Housing, stores and small shops, important to the area's economy, had disappeared. Vacancy and abandonment transformed both small and large parcels into garbage-strewn lots. By 1984, for lack of investor confidence, vacant, unproductive land consumed nearly 30 percent of the neighborhood's net acreage.

Today, the same area, now called "University Heights", is battling the same problems of drug abuse, debilitating unemployment, and crime that have stalked its residents for decades. Yet, University Heights, in 1993, is also a promising urban neighborhood. Many of the garbage strewn lots have been put to productive use. New strip shopping centers, the first supermarket to be built in decades, a neighborhood movie theater, restaurants, garden condominiums, and infill housing are providing services, employment, entertainment, and quality housing for community residents where none existed before.

What could have caused such development to come to a gritty, inner-city neighborhood? The development that occurred and continues today in University Heights illustrates the positive influences that institutions of higher education can exert. Through open, cooperative and at-times combative exchanges between institutions and community residents, a thread-work of personal relationships

were built within University Heights that provided a glue for all that came after. The most important ingredient that Newark's universities and college provided to this development process was the commodity that is perhaps most easy for all institutions of higher education to provide to their host communities -- the stimulation of fresh, new ideas and an overall vision for community improvement.

A Tale of Two Cities

University Heights is a neighborhood of 15,500 persons located in the Central Ward of Newark; New Jersey's largest city.

Located just a few miles west of New York City, Newark is the center of a four-county New Jersey metropolitan area with 1.9 million residents, making it the 17th largest metropolitan area in the country. Newark's 275,000 residents represent a variety of racial and ethnic groups. Blacks comprise over one-half (56%) of the City's population, followed by a rapidly expanding Hispanic community that makes up 25 percent of the residents. Contributing to the City's increasingly racial and ethnic diversity are large pockets of Portuguese, Haitian, Jamaican, Trinidadian, and Guyanese who are relative newcomers to the City.

Like many of America's great cities, Newark is a city of dichotomy. The third oldest major city in America, Newark is in the midst of a renaissance. From the construction of many new downtown commercial office buildings, to affordable housing, to plans for a $150 million Performing Arts Center; Newark has attracted significant economic resources during the last quarter-century. Six billion dollars have been invested in development projects since 1986 alone. The City's 148,000 workers generate a payroll economy estimated at $5.1 billion annually. More people work in Newark than in any other single municipality in the State. Many of the top employers in New Jersey are headquartered in Newark. The City is home to two major insurance companies, as well as the State's largest bank and its major utilities. Overall, the City provides regional leadership in business, education, transportation, law, government, and health care employment. Newark's five colleges and universities make it the State's premiere location for higher education.

Newark is also a city of significant economic and social discord. Many Newark residents, after having jump-started their careers by taking advantage of the City's opportunities, have left Newark to live in near-by suburbs. Between 1950 and 1990, the City's population plummeted by 37 percent, shrinking from 439,000 to its present level.

This out-migration had an enormous impact on the Newark economy as the income and spending power of its residents declined. An overwhelming majority of the families that left the City had above average incomes, were composed of both white and black families, and represented a major part of Newark's middle class.

Although many of these former residents continue to work in Newark, for the most part their earnings do not stay in the City. This out-migration has produced the dichotomy that we see today:

- an affluent daytime population whose incomes are among the highest in the region as non-residents hold the City's highest paying professional, technical and service positions.

- a night-time population having generally the lowest-incomes in the region, and inadequate access to decent, affordable housing, health care, and proper schooling for their children.

Following the residents out of Newark were some of the City's oldest and largest employment sectors. Over 90,000 private sector jobs have been lost in the last three decades. The City's manufacturing sector experienced the steepest decline, and the manufacturing jobs that have remained in Newark are among the lowest-paying in the region.

While the City's employment losses have been severe, it has retained and attracted some of the region's highest paying jobs, particularly in the communications and utilities industries, finance, insurance, real estate, health care and other professional services.

Yet, Newarkers, for the most part, have lacked the education and job skills to compete for these technical and professional jobs. As a result, the portion of City jobs held by Newark residents continues to decline, and Newark's unemployment rate remains at twice that of the State average, -- during times of both economic recession and job expansion. Many City residents have given up looking for work. The percentage of City residents living in poverty is one of the highest in the State and nation, and the City's children are burdened by a school system that fails to provide many of them with minimum skills. Within the City, the Central Ward (home to four college campuses), exhibits the greatest social and human needs.

Council for Higher Education in Newark

It was within this context of local despair and the need to strengthen local educational and economic development opportunities

that the Council for Higher Education in Newark (CHEN) was established.

The Council for Higher Education in Newark is a consortium of four public colleges and universities. Through CHEN, a strong spirit of cooperation has developed among the schools, yet each institution has maintained its own distinct identity and mission. Essex County College provides two-year, vocation-oriented and transfer programs; New Jersey Institute of Technology offers engineering, scientific, architectural, management, and other technological programs through the doctoral level; Rutgers-Newark provides baccalaureate and graduate-level liberal arts and sciences education, in addition to professional programs in business, law, criminal justice and nursing; and the University of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey offers a full array of educational programs in the health professions. UMDNJ's University Hospital is the principal source of health care for the Newark community.

CHEN has worked for two decades in service to New Jersey's largest city and the state. The CHEN leaders, composed of the presidents and provost of the four institutions, meet monthly and their staffs cooperate regularly on a number of initiatives. With a student body of 26,000, an investment in plant and equipment of over $1.250 billion, and a nationally recognized faculty, the CHEN institutions have brought honor to the City of Newark, opportunities for its residents, and acted as a stabilizing force for the surrounding 700 acre neighborhood.

University Heights: A Time For Action

By the early 1980's the CHEN institutions recognized that the time was right to make a major effort to stimulate the economic development of their Central Ward neighborhood. The area had made significant strides in its recovery from the devastation left behind from the 1967 Newark Riots, and it offered distinct advantages for further development.

The University Heights neighborhood is located immediately next to a "Downtown Renaissance" district which, in the late 1970's, was starting to attract investment for the construction of office space, cultural facilities and for transportation improvements. What was not as well recognized was the potential for development of University Heights. After the 1967 Riots, the area had attracted a large amount of federal and state aid to help in the rebuilding. Several garden apartment complexes were built, providing attractive (rental) housing options for about one-half of the residents.

In addition to the housing complexes, there were other significant stakeholders in the neighborhood including three hospitals, the central administrative offices of Essex County Government, the county vocational school, a city high school, a parochial high school, and the four CHEN institutions. Each of these institutions are within walking distance of the other, and their employment and construction activities had provided stability for the area. Collectively they had already invested hundreds of millions of dollars in new construction and, as the 1980's unfolded, many were planning further investment.

Two of the four college campuses had interest in building dormitories and creating a 24-hour campus life. All four CHEN institutions planned to enlarge their physical plants, and expand their research and academic programs. The universities recognized that the lack of restaurants, suitable housing for employees and other amenities were an obstacle when trying to attract students and faculty to the area. The neighborhood's poverty rate, illiteracy, crime, weed-filled lots and other urban ills provided a disheartening contrast to the multi-million dollar university facilities. The CHEN schools recognized that the future of Newark's higher education community was linked to that of their surrounding neighborhood.

The future of the neighborhood was linked, in turn, to its major institutions. Home to large educational, hospital, and government complexes, the community offered thousands of employees very limited options to enjoy lunch or to access other conveniences or amenities away from their work site. The students, staff and faculties at the university campuses, alone, offered an extremely large and lucrative market. Abundant vacant land existed between the university campuses. Most of this land was not only laying in disuse, but was cleared of structures and could be made immediately available for development. The university leaders were convinced that such development could serve the needs of both the day-time workforce and the neighborhood residents, increase area job opportunities, contribute to the City's tax ratables, and generally improve the neighborhood.

Planning for Development

In 1984 the CHEN schools began work on a draft development concept for the University Heights area. **Its primary purpose was to persuade others, outside of the universities, to invest in the area.** The university's strategy was based on <u>critical mass development</u>. It was hoped that substantial neighborhood progress could be achieved if enough investors could be convinced to target their resources within a relatively small geographical area.

However, before the universities could discuss this concept with the community, and work out many of the details, a newspaper, the Newark Star-Ledger obtained a working copy of the document and published much of it.

For the most part, the community reaction was one of anger that the development concept was conceived out of public view. Community suspicions ran high regarding the intent of the development, and if residents were to have a say in how their neighborhood was to be affected.

To overcome community opposition, and to solicit its participation, the universities held plenary sessions over a two year period involving the entire University Heights community. Despite the assurances of the universities that their purpose was to attract others to invest in the area, many residents viewed the development concept as a land-grab by the institutions. Many community residents also believed that the development that was to be attracted to the neighborhood would result in massive dislocation of people, despite illustrations by the universities that development would primarily occur on vacant land, with very few residents or businesses affected. Responding to their constituent concerns, several of Newark's political leaders were drawn into these issues. The City's support was critical to the success of the project. Over two-thirds of the vacant land within University Heights was owned by City agencies.

While this period was characterized by sharp debate between the institutions, political leaders, and community residents, the development potential of University Heights became more widely known within the region. The concept of University Heights was being discussed by the media, and among diverse interest groups. Slowly the perception of the area by residents and non-residents alike began to change. People recognized that the neighborhood, for all of its problems, offered excellent facilities that could be used to attract further community development. Perhaps because the area had been disenfranchised for so long, a willingness to try something new began to take hold within the community.

To help transform the University Heights concept into a workable plan, the N.J. Department of Higher Education provided funding to CHEN. This support was used to initiate parallel activities for the development of both a community plan and a comprehensive plan for the neighborhood. This support allowed for wide community participation in the planning efforts. State funding was later used to carry out some of the plan's recommendations, including the creation of pre-college programs at the higher education institutions, and to help the colleges and community organizations promote the development of the area.

The community plan, authored by neighborhood residents, political and business leaders, addressed community concerns with regard to employment opportunities, education, housing, and other issues. With the involvement of CHEN a comprehensive plan was then drafted in 1986 which addressed the community concerns and provided a blueprint for the overall development of the area.

University Heights Development Program

Three community-based corporations were formed to oversee and ensure the plan's implementation. All of these organizations have continued their work to the present. The University Heights Community Council was created first to oversee development and provide a forum for a dialogue to continue between neighborhood residents, the CHEN schools, area businesses and city government. The University Heights Neighborhood Development Corporation, with seed money donated by CHEN, was created to direct the construction of specific projects within the neighborhood, the first of which was a 66-unit low/moderate income condominium project. This project led to the birth of a third community-based organization, the University Heights Condominium Association.

Community residents comprise a majority of the members of each of these organizations, and the four CHEN schools participate actively in their work. Staffing support to these organizations is provided by staff at the CHEN schools, and with the interested involvement of the CHEN leaders. The University Heights Community Council has been meeting monthly at the University of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey since 1986. These meetings, as well as other activities sponsored by the University Heights community, are attended by the leaders of the CHEN institutions. Close university involvement with these community groups has kept communication open and helped to achieve significant progress in implementing the development plan.

In the past seven years, private and public investment within University Heights has occurred at a rapid rate. Construction of more than 1600 units of low, moderate and market rate housing and related commercial development is now taking place or planned in University Heights. The universities have encouraged and assisted minority owned firms to participate actively in University Heights related development. Generally, the development of all the projects owe their origins to the new levels of interest generated toward the community because of the efforts of CHEN. The following are brief descriptions of selected projects:

Vogue Housing
This 40 unit market-rate townhouse complex was completed in 1988 by a minority owned firm at a cost of $3.5 million. Built on primarily vacant land between the college campuses, it was the first market-rate housing built in Newark's Central Ward in recent memory. The complex is fully occupied. This project provided a successful model for the next major project which is described immediately below.

Society Hill at University Heights
Developed by New Jersey's largest home builder (K.Hovnanian, Inc.) this 1,200 unit complex is bringing affordable townhouse living to the heart of the University Heights neighborhood. Planned for a 19-block area stretching between the college campuses, about 550 homes have been built and occupied. A fourth phase of 299 homes is currently under construction.

Upper University Heights Estates
This 66-unit condominium complex was developed through the University Heights Neighborhood Development Corporation, a non-profit corporation created by CHEN and governed by university and community representatives. The entire complex is reserved for low and moderate income home buyers. The project was completed earlier this year and is fully occupied, making it one of the most successful low/moderate income housing developments in New Jersey. This project was assisted through an interest-free revolving loan fund established at CHEN by the Amelior Foundation. Needy families were able to borrow up to $2,000 to cover closing costs or to pay off any debts jeopardizing their mortgage application. Loans can be repaid in cash without interest or through in-kind services performed for a non-profit community based agency.

University Plaza Mall
Completed in 1990 by a minority developer, this 54,000 square foot shopping mall features a Rite-Aid drug store, various food outlets and other retail shops. The mall is located on formerly vacant land directly adjacent to the UMDNJ campus.

Pathmark Supermarket
Located across from the UMDNJ campus, this 42,000 square foot Pathmark Supermarket opened in 1991. It is the first supermarket to open in the University Heights area in twenty years and serves 50,000 shoppers each week. Attached to the supermarket are five satellite stores.

Six Plex Theater
In April 1993 the first movie theater to be built in central Newark in decades opened. This $5.3 million six plex holds 1,660 movie goers. A CHEN institution played a key role in this development.

CHEN: Contributing to Revitalization

Starting in the early 1980's, a sizable construction program undertaken by the universities on campus land provided a further stimulus for the development of the neighborhood. Counting only major construction projects, the CHEN campuses made nearly $300 million in capital improvements during the last ten years. This construction program included the expenditure of $13 million for facilities at Essex County College, $71 million at Rutgers University, $101 million at the University of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey, and $110 million at the New Jersey Institute of Technology.

New facilities and programs at the universities meant more employment opportunities for Newark residents and a greater economic impact for the City. Table 1 below estimates CHEN's 1991 employment impact on Newark and on the surrounding region. About 21% of all faculty and staff at the university campuses are Newark residents and their payroll earnings alone exceed $44 million annually.

TABLE 1

EMPLOYMENT BY THE CHEN INSTITUTIONS

(1991)

Employee Residence	Number of Employees	% of CHEN Emp.	Annual Payroll
Newark	1,900	21%	$ 44 Million
Remainder of Essex County	2,900	32	100 Million
Remainder of New Jersey	3,900	42	160 Million
Out of State	500	5	28 Million
Total for CHEN Employment	**9,200**	**100%**	**$ 332 Million**

One of the CHEN schools (UMDNJ) has used zip code analyses and special economic impact studies to further define its employment and other impacts on the community. These analyses have revealed that over one-half of the 1,200 Newark residents employed by UMDNJ live within the two City Wards in which the University is located.

The CHEN institutions also exert a large economic impact by purchasing a variety of goods and services from Newark businesses. In 1991 these purchases amounted to $10 million (see Table 2 below).

TABLE 2

ANNUAL PURCHASING BY THE CHEN INSTITUTIONS FROM NEW JERSEY BUSINESSES

(1991)

Location Of Business	Estimated Annual Purchasing
Newark	$ 10 Million
Remainder of Essex County	14 Million
Remainder of New Jersey	79 Million
Total for New Jersey	**$ 103 Million**

In addition, the establishment of Special Vendor programs at each of the CHEN campuses has helped the institutions to identify women-owned, minority-owned, urban-based, and other small businesses and provided them with opportunities to bid for university contracts. These programs have been highly successful. In 1991 the CHEN campuses purchased nearly $41 million from Special Vendors located across the state.

Many other university activities are having positive impacts on Newark's economy. These activities include the employment of local residents for campus construction projects; the use of area banks for institutional and staff/student banking needs; the creation of 24-hour campuses at two of the four schools; the multiplier effect of local spending by university visitors, staffs, and students; and the creation of innovative university/public school partnerships.

The CHEN schools are deeply committed to helping Newark's young students through pre-college education programs that encourage them to stay in school and prepare for college. Academic and enrichment programs that are sponsored jointly or individually by the CHEN schools serve more than 4,000 area elementary and high school students. The range of programs includes those designed for high-achieving students as well as those for students requiring assistance in skill-building.

Completing The Neighborhood:
University Heights Science Park

In 1991, when America's mayors chose Newark as one of the nation's most livable cities, it was clear that the contributions of University Heights were critical. However, a key element has yet to come in the development of University Heights: the University Heights Science Park.

The idea of a Science Park was first proposed in the 1986 planning document authored through the collaborative efforts of the universities, government, business and community residents.

Urban science parks build upon the existing strengths of universities and hospitals to overcome the negative factors that inhibit the redevelopment of urban areas. Science parks provide the environment for partnerships to develop between universities, industry and government. The sharing of new scientific and physical facilities in close proximity to university-based research can result in significant technology transfer.

A not-for-profit corporation, University Heights Science Park Inc., has recently been established to oversee the Science Park project. This initiative is a collaborative effort by the City of Newark, the community, Newark corporations, and the four CHEN schools. The corporation is developing a strategy for implementation, is soliciting investor support, and is seeking community input into this development process.

The linking of promising research to commercialization will be a catalyst for the continued revitalization of Newark, and enhance regional economic growth. Investment in a Science Park will yield important benefits in human and economic infrastructure. To date $16 million has been earmarked for specific projects within the Science Park. It is projected that the Science Park will result in a short-term development expenditure of $73 million, and in a long-range (10 years) expenditure exceeding $250 million.

University Heights Science Park will be developed as a series of buildings designed for multi-use occupancy. Initial activities will include land acquisition, site preparation, landscaping and rehabilitation of some existing buildings. Total buildout of the Science Park could generate $4 million in new local property taxes per year, and create up to 3,000 permanent jobs.

The Newark proposal, however, seeks to go beyond the traditional science park development strategy and extend benefits to the larger community. Instead of calling for isolated development, the University Heights Science Park concept is comprehensive and incorporates the proposed 52 acre project into the existing

neighborhood. In addition to office, research and business incubator space, the Park's components include a Science Park High School, affordable housing development, a day care center, recreational and retail space. Business opportunities will become available to local entrepreneurs who will benefit from new markets and consumers; and job training programs will be designed to prepare residents for the jobs created by the new high and low-tech businesses that locate in the Park.

An especially attractive opportunity for CHEN lies in working with area school districts to create a new regional high school with a strong focus on science, mathematics and technology. This school would take advantage of the educational programs on the university campuses, as provide part-time and summer job opportunities through partnerships with the Science Park corporations.

Conclusion

In 1983, CHEN launched University Heights with the premise that universities can and should make substantial investments in their community that go beyond their traditional services. The specific goals of the project were to preserve neighborhoods; to develop new affordable housing on abandoned land; to stimulate the area's economy; to increase opportunities for minority entrepreneurs and local job-seekers; and to increase the colleges' involvement in improving educational opportunities for area youth.

Substantial progress has been made on all these fronts.

The most obvious accomplishment is the physical improvement of the neighborhood. Many new buildings have been and continue to be built on land that was predominately vacant. Urgently needed low and moderate income housing has been constructed. Market rate housing has also been developed, bringing into the neighborhood persons with discretionary income important to the area's future prosperity. Businesses have been attracted that offer employment, conveniences and amenities that suburban localities take for granted, such as a neighborhood supermarket, a cinema, and a variety of service and dining establishments.

The impact of these development projects is neighborhood-wide. Other shop-keepers and home owners located in the vicinity of some of the major projects are recognizing the worth of maintaining their properties and are also investing in the area.

Early on, the CHEN leaders agreed that the stabilization of the neighborhood was critical if the development concept was to succeed. The question was whether sufficient investment could be generated to slow or halt the decades of population decline.

New population figures from the Census Bureau indicate that the neighborhood is beginning to meet this test. According to the 1990 Census the neighborhood's population declined by seven percent during the 1980's; a rate substantially lower than the City's overall population loss.

In addition, the 1990 Census total for University Heights does not include about 450 units of new housing that were occupied just after the Census enumeration, or are presently being constructed. Because of these and other activities, old and new residents of University Heights express the feeling that the neighborhood has turned an important corner.

The University Heights Science Park project offers additional reasons for optimism that the neighborhood will continue to attract new jobs, residents, housing, and shops. The proposed high school offers an exciting challenge for the CHEN schools, area school districts, and community residents to work together on this most important issue affecting our children's and nation's future.

The contribution of the CHEN universities to the neighborhood's development can be looked at as being both inconsequential and instrumental. It was inconsequential in the sense that CHEN did not directly contribute large sums of funding to develop the housing, the shops, and the other improvements. Rather, these development projects were financed by a combination of investors, mostly private.

In a way, CHEN's contribution can be likened to the TV-ad men who promise riches with no money down. With "no money down" and by supplying only a vision and fresh thought, planning and marketing skills, and a heavy dose of time, energy, and community/political savvy, the CHEN institutions enticed developers to take a second (or first) look at their neighborhood and to make investments based on sound business decisions.

Because the monetary investment required from a college is relatively small, all colleges have the potential to impact their communities in ways similar to the University Heights experience. Critical mass development in a neighborhood is dependent only on the ability of the stakeholders to convince as many other developers as possible to make targeted investments.

The college may need to take the lead in planning and marketing the development scheme. Initially, CHEN's vision of University Heights was more developed than that of the community and even of the city government. CHEN made the political decision not to wait for the city government to plan for the area, but to proceed despite initial opposition from some government and community leaders.

The evolution of this development process, especially with respect to community support, has been interesting to observe. Many community residents who now support the concept initially opposed it. From the beginning it was critical for the universities to not forget that community residents have a right to be concerned about change, and to want a say in how powerful institutions might impact upon their lives. Marcia Brown, the first president of the University Heights Community Council, perhaps said it best: "We didn't want to have only a voice to protest, but a voice to develop".

Some members of the community will continue to question the role of the university in neighborhood development. Colleges must recognize the diversity of views that often exist within a single community, and initiate strategies that will bring dissenting voices into the process. Some will always harbor suspicions and negative feelings and seek out the institutions as inviting targets for criticism; while others may hold praise for university initiatives to themselves. Important lessons that were learned by CHEN and by the larger community were the value of continuing dialog, with the awareness that they will not win the support of everyone, nor will they necessarily receive deserving praise.

Indeed, the continual give and take between town and gown can lead to better policy making and faster implementation once decisions are reached if issues that are important to the community are addressed before hand. Working with the community on large projects like University Heights takes an enormous amount of time and commitment on the part of the college. Many obstacles will be presented, but none that outweigh the rewards.

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